

THE

Anti-Slavery Reporter

PUBLISHED UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE
BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Series 4.
Vol. XIX., No. 5. } NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1899.

{ *Gratis to*
Subscribers.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PEMBA : CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE FOREIGN OFFICE	195
REPLY FROM LORD SALISBURY... ..	197
LETTER TO <i>The Times</i> , &c.	198
SIXTY YEARS' WORK AGAINST SLAVERY	198
PROPOSED ANTI-SLAVERY CONGRESS IN PARIS	205
THE COLOURED RACE IN AMERICA	208
ROYAL NIGER COMPANY	210
MR. J. A. O. PAYNE, OF LAGOS	211
FRIENDS' ANTI-SLAVERY FUND	212
OBITUARY—Mrs. W. E. FORSTER	212
Miss ANNA SWANWICK	212
Mr. JOHN WHITING	213
Mr. F. D. BARNES	213
REVIEW—LIFE AND LETTERS OF HARRIET BEECHER STOWE	213

PUBLISHED AT THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY,
55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.

WATERLOW AND SONS LIMITED, PRINTERS, LONDON WALL, LONDON.

1899.

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

PATRON:

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

President:

1884 SIR THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, Bart., G.C.M.G.

Vice-President:

1886 ALFRED E. PEASE, Esq., M.P.

Treasurer:

1879 JOSEPH ALLEN, Esq.

Honorary Secretary:

1879 CHARLES H. ALLEN, F.R.G.S.

Committee:

1870 ARTHUR ALBRIGHT, Esq.

1898 W. A. ALBRIGHT, Esq.

1877 J. G. ALEXANDER, Esq., LL.B.

1885 W. WILBERFORCE BAYNES, Esq.

1887 J. BEVAN BRAITHWAITE, Esq.

1894 E. WRIGHT BROOKS, Esq.

1893 CEPHAS BUTLER, Esq.

1889 SYDNEY C. BUXTON, Esq., M.P.

1893 JOEL CADBURY, Esq.

1893 FREDERICK G. CASH, Esq.

1876 JAMES CLARK, Esq.

1884 R. N. CUST, Esq., LL.D.

1884 R. W. FELKIN, Esq., M.D.

1885 MAJOR-GENERAL SIR F. J. GOLDSMID,
K.C.S.I.

1886 HENRY GURNEY, Esq.

1887 DANIEL HACK, Esq.

1884 CALEB R. KEMP, Esq.

1895 CAPTAIN H. NEEDHAM KNOX, R.N.

1893 JOHN H. LLOYD, Esq.

1895 DONALD MACKENZIE, Esq.

1894 W. CAREY MORGAN, Esq.

1893 JOHN MORLAND, Esq.

1893 JOSEPH A. PEASE, Esq., M.P.

1884 ARNOLD PYE-SMITH, Esq.

1885 FRANCIS RECKITT, Esq.

1898 SIR JOHN SCOTT, K.C.M.G.

1894 RICHARD N. SHORE, Esq.

1870 REV. J. O. WHITEHOUSE.

1885 W. H. WYLDE, Esq., C.M.G. (late of the
Foreign Office *Slave-Trade Department*).

1895 T. GRAHAM YOUNG, Esq.

Corresponding Members:

RIGHT REV. BISHOP TUCKER, Mombasa.

G. T. ABRINES, Esq., Tangier, Morocco.

FRANK ALLEN, Esq., Alexandria.

B. R. BALFOUR, Esq., Drogheda.

T. H. BARKER, Esq., Liverpool.

THEODORE BURTT, Esq., Pemba.

HON. AND REV. H. CLARK, Jamaica.

PROFESSOR E. DESCAMPS, Louvain.

WILLIAM HARVEY, Esq., Leeds.

CAPTAIN E. C. HORE, South Seas.

REV. W. G. HOWE Ribé, East Africa.

G. P. HUNOT, Esq., British Vice-Consul, Saffee.

SIR H. H. JOHNSTON, K.C.B.

MONS. HIPPOLYTE LAROCHE, Paris, Ancien
Résident Général de France, Madagascar.

NOEL TEMPLE MOORE, Esq., C.M.G., late
H.B.M. Consul-General, Tripoli.

A. J. MORASSO, Esq., Tangier.

G. MOYNIER, Esq., Geneva.

SENHOR JOAQUIM NABUCO, Brazil.

PROF. EDOUARD NAVILLE, Geneva.

REV. PÈRE OHRWALDER, Cairo.

M. JOH. PATER, Teheran.

DR. PRUEN, Cheltenham.

COMTE DE ST. GEORGE, Geneva.

COLONEL SCHAEFER BEY, late Director of

Egyptian Slavery Department.

DR. G. SCHWEINFURTH, Cairo.

REV. W. G. SHELLABEAR, Singapore.

SLATIN PASHA, Cairo.

M. LE COMTE D'URSEL, Brussels.

M. COURTOIS DE VIÇOSE, Toulouse.

W. J. WILSON, Esq., Cairo.

COLONEL WINGATE, R.E., C.B., Cairo.

A. B. WYLDE, Esq.

Secretary:

1898 TRAVERS BUXTON, M.A.

Bankers: Messrs. BARCLAY & Co., 54, Lombard Street.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1899.

[The Editor, whilst grateful to all correspondents who may be kind enough to furnish him with information, desires to state that he is not responsible for the views stated by them, nor for quotations which may be inserted from other journals. The object of the REPORTER is to spread information, and articles are necessarily quoted which may contain views or statements for which their authors can alone be held responsible.]

Pemba.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

MENTION was made in our last issue of fresh obstacles to emancipation in the island, which had been reported by Mr. H. Armitage, of the Friends' Industrial Mission at Banani.

The Committee of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY resolved to address a letter to Lord Salisbury, and to forward to him an abstract of the correspondence which had passed between Mr. Farler, Mr. Consul Cave, and Mr. Armitage, on the subject of the new regulations which these officials had introduced, in order to prevent vagrancy. In his letter to Mr. Armitage, Mr. Cave, the Acting Consul-General, maintained that the fourth Article of the Decree of 1897, "gives the Court a discretionary power to temporarily withhold a man's freedom until, by producing evidence of his ability and desire to settle down and earn his own living, he can prove that he is not likely to become a vagrant."

We are very glad to be able to publish the terse reply of Lord Salisbury to our communication, viz., that Her Majesty's Government do not sanction this interpretation, and have telegraphed instructions to Zanzibar to this effect.

It would appear that the last sentence of Lord Salisbury's reply applies to Zanzibar as well as to Pemba, for Mr. Consul Cave's letter to Mr. Armitage, dated the 29th June last, stated that this strained reading of the fourth Article of the Decree had been followed in Zanzibar *for some time past*, as well as more recently, in Pemba.

To the Most Hon. THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, K.G., &c., &c.,
H.M.'s Principal Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

55, New Broad Street, E.C.

October 23rd, 1899.

MY LORD MARQUESS,

The Committee of this Society have learned with disappointment and regret that fresh obstacles have lately occurred in carrying out the Decree

for the abolition of the legal status of slavery in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, as shown in correspondence recently forwarded by Mr. Herbert Armitage of the Friends' Industrial Mission in Pemba, of which I beg to enclose a short abstract for your Lordship's perusal. Should your Lordship desire it I shall be happy to forward the whole correspondence.

In addressing the joint Anti-Slavery deputation at the Foreign Office on 13th January, 1899, Mr. Brodrick used these words :—

“If anyone could place before the Government instances in which there had lately been a glut of applicants to the Courts, and slaves had been kept away through fear of delay. . . . Her Majesty's ministers would do all they could to accelerate procedure.”

The Committee respectfully submit that some of the difficulties supposed by Mr. Brodrick have actually arisen owing to the interpretation placed by the officials of the Sultan on Article IV. of the Decree of 1897; and that they are therefore justified in calling your Lordship's attention to the matter.

It would appear from the statement of Mr. Armitage that the progress of emancipation in Pemba has been very seriously impeded since the Commissioners have insisted on applicants for freedom securing an employer to become surety for them in the future. Even before the adoption of this regulation, your Lordship will see from Mr. Armitage's letter to Mr. Farler, dated March 13th, 1899, that difficulties had occurred in the case of slaves applying to the Court, who were turned away, unable even to gain admission.

The Committee is unable to see how the words of Article IV. of the Decree “Any person whose right to freedom shall have been *formally recognised* under the preceding article” can be interpreted to mean simply “any applicant for freedom”; nor do they think that the words “he shall be bound to show that he possesses a regular domicile and means of subsistence” can be fairly pressed so as to involve the conditions now exacted, viz. : That the slave should, before getting a hearing, of his own accord find an employer who will pledge himself, to the satisfaction of the Court, for the future good behaviour of that applicant. It is necessary that a slave seeking freedom should leave his master and the shamba on which he has been domiciled in order to appear at the Court; in other words, he must become a runaway as a first step towards freedom. How can, therefore, such a person comply with the conditions now imposed?

The Committee while fully recognising the evils of vagrancy among freed slaves, which the enforcement of this regulation is intended to check, respectfully protest against the adoption of a measure which, in order to avoid these evils, attempts to do it at the cost of arresting altogether the operation of the Decree which exists for the abolition of the legal status of slavery.

They also submit that the registration of the employer's name by the Commissioner “as a person responsible for the well-being of the particular freed slave” approaches nearly to the adoption of a form of apprenticeship, a system

which was decisively rejected by your Lordship in the instructions issued to H.M. Consul-General at Zanzibar previous to the Decree of 1897.

As there appears to be no lack of demand for labour in the island, the Committee desire to suggest the possible establishment of some form of Labour Bureau, where the slave, when freed, could be brought face to face with the employer of labour. They would, in conclusion, respectfully point out that the stage of transition from slavery to freedom must be attended with unrest and some measure of confusion, if not of disorder. It is desirable to shorten rather than prolong this state of things, and yet, with the regulations now introduced, the end which they know H.M. Government is anxious to attain—viz. : the disappearance of slavery—is indefinitely postponed. The Committee, therefore, beg to urge that your Lordship will make enquiry into the circumstances here set forth, and will issue such instructions as shall ensure a vigorous continuance in the islands of the Anti-Slavery policy, which has been attended, so far as it has gone, with encouraging results.

On behalf of the Committee,

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's obedient humble servant,

TRAVERS BUXTON, *Secretary.*

FOREIGN OFFICE,

November 10th, 1899.

SIR,

The MARQUESS OF SALISBURY has had under his consideration your letter of the 23rd ultimo, in which you draw attention to the circumstances in which effect is being given in the island of Pemba to the Decree issued by the Sultan of Zanzibar in April, 1897, abolishing the legal status of slavery.

The interpretation which Mr. Farler appears to have placed on Article IV. of that Decree, and to which you specially allude, is not one which commends itself to Her Majesty's Government. In Article IV. the expressions, "Any person whose right to freedom shall have been formally recognised under the 2nd Article, shall be liable to any tax, abatement, corvée, or payment in lieu of corvée, which our Government may at any time hereafter see fit to impose on the general body of its subjects : and shall be bound, on pain of being declared a vagrant, to show that he possesses a regular domicile and means of subsistence," should not be interpreted as laying any obligation on the slave to find someone to be responsible for his future good behaviour.

Lord Salisbury has accordingly instructed the Acting British Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar by telegraph in this sense, and has at the same time

directed that the cases which have been decided in accordance with the above interpretation of the Decree shall be re-heard without delay.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) FRANCIS BERTIE.

The SECRETARY to the

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

To the Editors of the "TIMES" and "DAILY NEWS."

SIR,—This society recently received information from the Island of Pemba that the progress of emancipation there had been seriously impeded since the commissioner, Mr. Farler, a few months ago insisted that slaves who applied for freedom under the Decree of 1897 must, before getting a hearing, secure an employer to become surety for their future good behaviour.

As this condition was quite a new one, the former practice being, as stated by Lord Curzon in the House of Commons last year, that every slave applying to the Court for freedom and proving his identity must have his case "settled at once upon the spot," the committee addressed a letter to Lord Salisbury, calling his attention to the matter. They submitted that this interpretation of the fourth Article of the Decree was a strained one, and that the registration of the employer's name, "as a person responsible for the well-being of the particular freed slave," approached nearly to the adoption of a form of apprenticeship—a system which was rejected by the Government in 1897.

They respectfully protested against the adoption of a measure which attempted to avoid the evils of vagrancy at the cost of arresting altogether the operation of the Decree which exists for the abolition of the legal status of slavery.

I venture to ask you to find room in your columns for the accompanying reply from the Foreign Office which, as showing that Her Majesty's Government do not intend the purpose of the Decree to be thus nullified on a side issue, is exceedingly satisfactory to this Society.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

TRAVERS BUXTON, Secretary.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

55, New Broad Street, E.C., November 16th.

Times, Nov. 17th, *Daily News*, Dec. 7th.

Sixty Years' Work against Slavery.

1839-1899.

[A desire has been expressed for a succinct general account of the Society's work and aims, brought up to date. To meet this need, the following paper has been compiled, and will shortly be printed in pamphlet form for general circulation.]

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was founded in 1839, after emancipation had been carried out in British dominions, to carry on the work

which had already been accomplished by three previous Anti-Slavery Societies established in London during the foregoing half-century. This Society was formed with the threefold object of :—

1. Working for the extinction of the slave-trade by means of the universal abolition of slavery.
2. Protecting the rights and interests of the enfranchised populations of the British possessions, and
3. Those of all persons captured as slaves.

The first President of the Society was the venerable THOMAS CLARKSON, and the following fundamental principles were laid down :—

That, so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings ; that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a *moral, religious, and pacific character* ; and that no measures be resorted to by this Society, in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.

To these principles the Society has ever since remained faithful.

We will very briefly refer to some of the work which has been accomplished under the three headings mentioned above, which are taken from its original constitution.

1. Since the Society came into existence, and largely in consequence of its successful efforts to awaken public opinion in different parts of the world against slavery, the transatlantic trade to supply the slave-plantations of Cuba and Brazil (which, when the Society was founded, amounted to upwards of 70,000 slaves a year) has ceased, whilst the institution of slavery has been abolished throughout America. By constant and friendly communication with foreign Societies and Governments, the Society materially assisted in obtaining the abolition of slavery in the colonies of France, Spain, Holland, Portugal, Sweden, and Denmark, as well as the abolition of the legal status in British India, Ceylon, the Gold Coast of Africa, the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and other places. It has continuously used its influence with Her Majesty's Government, and has brought it to bear on various foreign Governments, in opposing the slave-trade and slavery, and it can point to successful work in Egypt (where a Home for Freed Women in Cairo was founded under its auspices in 1883 and still flourishes), and in East and Central Africa, while it has striven with, unhappily, less success as yet in such ill-governed countries as Morocco and Tripoli.

2. The Society's work in protecting the rights of enfranchised British populations has been very varied. In its early days it sent delegations to the West Indies to inquire into the state of negro and mixed races. Deputations have frequently waited upon the Secretaries of State for the Colonies and India in regard to grievances in those countries. It has successfully opposed the introduction of contract labour, except under very stringent restrictions, into British and foreign possessions.

3. In order to protect the rights of persons captured as slaves, the Society has occasionally invoked the assistance of the Law Courts. It has not neglected the question of the rendition of fugitive slaves, and it was largely at its instance, backed up by public opinion, that the famous Admiralty Circular of 1875 was withdrawn. More recently it has made known and protested against the surrender of fugitive slaves in the Zanzibar Mainland Protectorate where up to 1897 missionaries were actually ordered by the authorities to deliver them up on demand. This was defended by Lord Curzon in Parliament, but strong feeling was aroused, and the Attorney-General declared it to be illegal for British subjects anywhere to take any part in giving back slaves to their masters, though he has attempted to modify this dictum in deference to Moslem local custom, which the British officials in Zanzibar appear to be bound to observe.

But it may be thought by many persons that while the Society did good work in the past, yet slavery is now done with, conquered and extinct, except, perhaps, in some few remote parts of Africa as yet out of the reach of European influence and civilization.

Most Englishmen have a patriotic thrill at the remembrance that Great Britain abolished her slave-trade in 1807, and slavery itself in her colonies in 1834, at the huge cost of twenty millions; and they honour the names of Granville Sharp, Wilberforce, Clarkson, Fowell Buxton, Zachary Macaulay, and many others who fought nobly in this great cause. But few know or realize the enormous amount of slavery which unhappily still exists to-day.

If we consider the conditions existing in the four great continents of the world; in Asia, slavery prevails to an extent which we have small means of estimating, even roughly, but which we know to be very great. In the vast Empire of China, for example, there are said to be fifty million slaves, and in Arabia, Persia, Syria, Turkey, Afghanistan, and other Mahomedan countries, slaves form a recognised part of the social order. Turning to the American continent, it is not yet forty years since the United States were torn by civil war on the question of slavery, and the institution was only abolished in 1888 in the great country of Brazil—the last Christian country to uphold it. Even in Europe, trade in slaves, and what is called domestic slavery, still flourish under the effete rule of Turkey, though both have been nominally abolished by numerous treaties during the last fifty years.

But Africa is, of course, the great centre and home of the slave-trade and of slavery; it is from Africa that slaves are raided from the interior, and still exported from the northern and eastern coasts to supply the demand of Mahomedan countries; moreover, it is in Africa, which is so rapidly being divided among the Great Powers, who vie with one another to obtain territory and spheres of influence, that effort can best be brought to bear for the suppression of this deeply-rooted evil.

On the inhuman character of the slave-trade there is no need now to insist, for the savagery, cruel slaughter, and waste of life connected with it have again and again been described. Dr. Livingstone made a rough estimate of the

annual sacrifice of human life by the African slave-trade at half-a-million, and this estimate was adopted by Cardinal Lavigerie and other authorities, but all such figures must, from the nature of the case, necessarily be vague and unsatisfactory. We know, however, that the trade is not extinct, nor is it likely yet to be throughout the Dark Continent. Slave caravans are still met in the interior by missionaries and other travellers, and the old cruelties are inseparable from the traffic. So long as there is a demand for slaves, so long will the supply, somehow or other, be kept up, and the demand from the Mahommedan East is, alas, not likely to cease. Difficulties and risks in carrying on the trade enhance the value of the human merchandise.

It was the great sorrow of General Gordon, when, as Governor of the Soudan, he did his best to check the hateful traffic, to find that, as soon as he had succeeded in blocking up one slave route, another was opened; and it has been said by another experienced observer that "it is easier for the leopard to change his spots than for the Arab to renounce slave-trading."

In Lord CROMER's last valuable report on Egypt and the Soudan, presented to Parliament in April, 1899, he writes:—

"It has been found in practice almost impossible to stop all the channels by which slaves can be brought to market. Even in Egypt, where anti-slavery operations have during the last sixteen years been conducted under exceptionally favourable conditions, perfect success has not yet been obtained."

Lord CROMER goes on, however, to give a very encouraging, not to say optimistic, view of the future of the Soudan. After remarking that in spite of the steady progress made, the opponents of slavery "must constantly have felt that, up to the present, merely the fringe of the subject has been touched," he says that the position is now changed by the recent re-conquest of the Soudan:—

"I do not say that slave-hunting operations will now no longer be possible, nor that all channels for the transport of slaves from the centre of Africa to the coast will be closed. Such, unfortunately, is not the case. Other provinces are still open to the slave-raider. At the same time, having regard to the blow which has now been struck, and to the further fact that the whole or the greater part of Africa appears to be gradually falling within the sphere of influence of some one or other European Power, it is not too much to say that, for the first time in the history of anti-slavery operations, there seems to be some real prospect of final and complete success."

For many years the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY made strenuous endeavours to obtain, at the various International Conferences of the Powers of Europe, some practical recognition of the necessity of dealing with the slave-trade, but without success. Resolutions against the slave-trade had been passed at the Conferences of Vienna in 1815, of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, and of Verona in 1822, and we may mention the unsuccessful attempts to bring the question before the Constantinople Conference in 1876-7, and the Berlin Congress in 1878. At the West African Conference at Berlin in 1884-5, a declaration was passed

on the proposition of the British representative, relative to slave-trade on the Congo basin, and each of the Powers bound itself to make every effort to put an end to this trade.

But more remained to be done. Official and other reports pointed to a large increase of the slave-trade in Central and Eastern Africa ; the traffic by sea was carried on with undiminished vigour, and there was no effective means of punishing the traders who were caught.

Accordingly, when Cardinal LAVIGERIE visited London in 1888, the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY seized the opportunity of holding a great public meeting to welcome him, over which the late Earl Granville presided. A resolution was there passed urging Her Majesty's Government to call a Conference of the Powers to consider the question. Subsequently Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON moved in the House of Commons that the QUEEN be asked to invite the assembling of such a Conference; and this was carried, after a notable debate, without a division. Her Majesty requested the King of the Belgians to summon the European Powers to a Conference at Brussels, which was opened in November, 1889.

The ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY took steps to express its views on the best means of dealing with the slave-trade and slavery to our own Government, and to the representatives of the other Powers, and a deputation from the Society attended in Brussels during the proceedings.

The Brussels Conference, the Act of which was signed by the representatives of seventeen Powers, including all the great Powers of Europe, was described by the present Prime Minister as "forming an epoch in the history of the suppression of the slave-trade."

At the same time, although after long and difficult discussions, complicated by conflicting interests, a practical agreement was arrived at, the Conference had no power to enforce its decisions, it being for each State to see the obligations, mutually undertaken, fully carried out. It was felt at the time, as was expressed by one of the British plenipotentiaries, that "the suppression of the slave-trade in Africa itself had only just commenced." The work of watching over and enforcing by the pressure of public opinion the due execution of the Brussels Act still remained. The subsequent action of some of the signatory Powers cannot be said to be consistent with their professions, notably Turkey, Portugal, and Zanzibar.

Owing to the unfortunate objection of France to allow the right of search to be applied to vessels carrying her flag, slave cargoes are often covered by the unfair use of this flag by owners of slave dhows, in order to secure their vessels from capture. This has been a serious evil for many years.

As a result of the Brussels Conference the work and responsibilities of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY were extended. Some of the most important clauses of the Act related to the establishment by the Powers holding territory in the interior of Africa of strongly occupied stations to protect the country from slave-raiders ; to the construction of roads and railways to connect the stations with the coast, and the establishment of steamers on

the rivers and lakes. The Society has always strongly supported the opening up of communication by these means.

For many years past the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has devoted special attention to slavery in the Sultanate of Zanzibar (including the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba and a ten-mile coast-strip stretching more than 200 miles along the mainland) which has been a British Protectorate since 1890. Many decrees against slavery have been passed through pressure exercised by Her Majesty's representatives upon the Sultans ever since 1873, when the then Sultan engaged by treaty with Great Britain to suppress sea-borne trade in slaves and to close the public slave markets, but, excellent as they appeared on paper, all these decrees were evaded, and were practically worthless.

After the declaration of the British Protectorate over Zanzibar in 1890, the demand that the traditional policy of Abolition should be carried out became more urgent; but though the question was repeatedly pressed upon the successive Governments, both Conservative and Liberal, nothing was done until the year 1897.

In 1895, a Special Commissioner was sent out to East Africa by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, who brought back a noteworthy report on the condition of the slaves in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba (whose numbers have been variously estimated from 140,000 to 266,000), strongly urging that the time had come when the status of slavery ought to be, and could with safety be, abolished in the Zanzibar Sultanate. This report was widely circulated, and public opinion was deeply stirred on the subject. In 1896, a crisis occurred in Zanzibar on the sudden death of the Sultan. The town was bombarded by British ships, and it was hoped that our Government would take over the administration of the country. This course was not adopted, but a new puppet Sultan was set on the throne, his advisers being all Englishmen; the Government thus continues in name to be that of the Sultan, but really is in the hands of Great Britain. In April, 1897, a Decree of Abolition in the islands was at length passed, but, owing to the fear of offending the influential Arab slave-owners and disturbing the labour market, it imposed many formalities and conditions quite unlike decrees previously passed for other countries, and contrasting very unfavourably with the Abolition Decree passed about the same time in West Africa by Sir George Goldie, Governor of the Royal Niger Company, which consisted of but one plain sentence, "that the legal status of slavery on and after June 19th, 1897, shall stand abolished throughout the Niger Territories." Slaves desiring their freedom in Zanzibar had to present themselves before Arab magistrates (themselves slave-owners) to prove their right to it: compensation was awarded to the masters for the loss of their slaves' services, and women in the position of concubines were shut out from the benefits of the Decree altogether. The Decree was from the first subjected to much weighty criticism for its indirectness and ambiguity, but it was defended by the Government on the ground that gradual and limited abolition only is desirable. Reports received from the islands soon showed that the Decree, such as it was,

was only being executed in a half-hearted way, and difficulties were placed in the way of applicants for freedom, so that the progress of emancipation was very slow indeed.

The latest official report, published in August, 1899, points to a somewhat more satisfactory condition. The advance, though still very slow numerically, seems to be real; the Government make it clear that they are definitely committed to an anti-slavery policy, and the officials write favourably of the improved state of things. The troubles anticipated as the result of emancipation have not taken place.

The total number of slaves freed since the Decree came into operation is not yet clearly tabulated up to date, but considerably more have received their freedom in Pemba than in Zanzibar. The process of giving freedom papers in Pemba has recently been seriously checked owing to the fear of encouraging vagrancy among the freed slaves, but this action of the Commissioner has been promptly disapproved and disowned by the Home Government, on the matter being put before them by this Society.

On the Sultan's mainland territory, which is leased by Great Britain, and governed directly by Her Majesty's officials, the Government has promised to abolish slavery as soon as possible, but has not as yet carried out the promise. It has, however, insisted on the publication of the Decree of 1890 which declares that slave children born since 1889 are legally free.

The surrender of fugitive slaves adjudged to be the property of their masters by British officers has been several times brought forward in Parliament lately, and has been the subject of able protest in letters from Bishop TUCKER, but the Moslem local law of slavery continues to be administered by these officers, and the Government refuse to take any action, on the ground of certain pledges given to the Sultan—pledges quite contrary to British law and policy.

We have only space very briefly to refer to two slave-ridden parts of North Africa—Tripoli and Morocco. A certain amount of slave-trade is carried on, more or less secretly, between the Eastern parts of Tripoli and the Turkish Empire, although our Government has frequently called upon the Ottoman Porte to prevent this nefarious traffic. The attention of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was called early in this year by its sister Society in Italy to the abuse of letters of freedom by Turkish officials, who allow slaves to be shipped ostensibly as free persons; and this information was passed on to our Foreign Office. There is also officially stated to be an active trade in slaves between Wadai, in the interior, and the coast lying between Tripoli and Alexandria.

In the empire of Morocco, within four days' sail of England, slave-trading and barbarous cruelties still go on, in spite of many attempts made by successive British Ministers to stop them. In Morocco there is practically no law, and the Government is utterly corrupt. Deputations from this Society have more than once visited the country, but, while through its efforts and those of other agencies something has been done to remedy the horrible prison regulations, public slave markets still exist in the inland towns, and the mutual jealousies of

European Powers prevent reforms from being carried out in this terribly backward country.

England has done more than any other country to put down the curses of slavery and the slave-trade. It is for us Englishmen to remember our heritage and our responsibility, and every one of us should use his influence against slavery in every form, so that what has been nobly called the "continuity of our moral policy" shall be maintained.

Proposed Anti-Slavery Congress at Paris.

A FEW weeks ago a letter was received from M. LEFÈVRE-PONTALIS, the General Secretary of the French Anti-Slavery Society, inviting the members of our Society to take part in the forthcoming Congress next year in Paris, and appealing for the co-operation of all those who have at heart the cause of justice and charity towards the disinherited races of Africa. M. Lefèvre-Pontalis asks us to make known the programme to the readers of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, "in the hope that many of them will be able to join us in order to study together what has been done since the last Paris Congress, and what we ought to seek to do."

The Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has resolved to send representatives to the Congress, of which the following is the official programme :—

[TRANSLATION.]

ANTI-SLAVERY CONGRESS OF 1900.

SIR,

On the 2nd July, 1890, at Brussels, the duly authorised representatives of seventeen Powers, European, American, Asiatic, and African, resolved, after several months' deliberation, upon a body of measures intended to put an end to the crimes and ravages caused by the African slave-trade. Three months later His Eminence Cardinal Lavigerie, Archbishop of Carthage and Algiers, primate of Africa, took the initiative of summoning a free Congress in Paris to study the great enterprise of the emancipation of the blacks.

It seemed to the Anti-Slavery Society of France that the Universal Exhibition of 1900 would offer, to all those interested in the lot of the negro, a favourable opportunity for ascertaining, in joint conference, the results obtained during ten years in the struggle against the slave-trade, and for continued deliberation on the means of completely abolishing African slavery.

The Universal Exhibition of next year will certainly bring members of anti-slavery societies of every nationality to Paris. The imposing spectacle of the

manifold achievement of civilized peoples, working as free men, will necessarily direct our thoughts, with more force than ever, to those disinherited millions who, far from sharing in our advantages, are deprived of that which belongs by right to every human being—personal liberty.

We therefore have the honour of asking you to take part in the Anti-Slavery Congress which will be held in Paris on the 6th, 7th, and 8th of August, 1900.

All questions relating to the African slave-trade by sea and land, the lot of freed slaves and free labourers, and the importation of liquors into Africa, will be considered by the Congress. Without wishing to exclude any subject which enters into the above category, it has seemed to us that the following points especially would give rise to interesting communications :—

I.—HISTORICAL.

1. Comparison between the state of the slave-trade in Africa at the beginning of the work of Anti-Slavery Societies and its present state. Mark the stages of progress.
2. Measures taken for the suppression of slavery in the Soudan, in Dahomey, on the coast of Guinea, in the regions of the Niger and Congo, in Madagascar, in Zanzibar and Pemba.
3. Laws and ordinances passed by the European Powers in their spheres of influence in Africa.
4. The protection of free labourers.
5. The International Maritime Bureau of Zanzibar.

II.—ACTUAL STATE OF THE SLAVE-TRADE BY SEA AND LAND.

1. Delimitation of the zones where slavery exists under some form or other, and those where it no longer exists.
2. Slave-trade by land in any part of Africa, and especially in the Soudan towards Morocco and Tripoli.
3. Public slave-markets in Africa and outside Africa.
4. Slave-trade by sea, notably on the coast of Morocco, Tripoli, and the Indian Ocean.

III.—MAHOMMEDANISM AND FETICHISM.

1. Delimitation between the spheres of Mahommedanism and Fetichism.
2. Hindrances to emancipation from the Moslem propaganda and from fetichistic religions.
3. Slave-sacrifices

IV.—ACTION OF MISSIONARIES AND EXPLORERS.

Spheres of action of Catholic and Protestant missions ; development of their work since the last Anti-Slavery Congress.

V.—OPPOSITION TO THE AFRICAN LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

1. Ravages caused by the importation of alcohol among the native populations of Africa.
2. Opinions of Temperance Societies and of Committees for the protection of natives on the best means of checking this importation.
3. Results of the labours of the International Conference held at Brussels in 1899 for the regulation of the traffic in spirituous liquors in Africa.

VI.—PRACTICAL MEANS OF SUPPRESSING SLAVERY.

1. Conditions to be enforced upon European Companies and Societies holding concessions in Africa in contracts for the hire of black labourers.
2. Freedom villages. (*Le villages de liberté.*)
3. The place of railways and water-ways in the suppression of slavery.
4. National Committees formed by the Anti-Slavery Societies, their labours and methods of action.
5. The holding of periodical Anti-Slavery Congresses.
6. Anti-slavery bibliography and publications. (Works, collections of periodical literature, &c.)

Every one will be at liberty, according to his personal experience, to treat one or other of these vast questions which have been formulated.

Nothing, indeed, is so instructive as a few facts observed at first hand by a missionary, an official, or a settler, even on a very small scale, nothing is more fitted to suggest to us practical and prompt means of fighting the hateful slave-trade. It has been very justly said :—"Slavery varies according to races ; it varies according to the religion or the environment of the tribes ; in the Soudan it is not practised as it is on the Congo ; the means of repression which would be successfully employed in Zanzibar would, as likely as not, be useless on the West Coast. It is therefore by particular study on the spot, in a definite district, that service may be rendered to administrators and charitable societies, by giving them exact information, that they may discover and put into practice methods adapted to the social condition of the country."—(*Annales apostoliques de la Congrégation du Saint Esprit*, May, 1899, p. 61.)

When the conference terminates, the Congress will formulate conclusions or resolutions, which will be handed by the Bureau to the proper official authorities.

We greatly hope that you will kindly support us, as far as you are able, in order to relieve the misfortunes of millions of human beings who still languish in

slavery, and so contribute to carry on the admirable work begun by the great Cardinal, at whose initiative the Congress of 1890 was called.

Accept &c.,

S. E. LE CARDINAL PERRAUD, évêque d'Autun, de l'Académie Française, *Président d'honneur*.

H. WALLON, sénateur, secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, *Président*.

DUC DE BROGLIE, de l'Académie Française,

GEORGES PICOT, secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques,

Vice-Présidents.

BARON D'AVRIL, ministre plénipotentiaire,

ARTHUR DESJARDINS, membre de l'Institut,

Le Secrétaire général, LEFÈVRE-PONTALIS, membre de l'Institut.

Le Directeur, S. G. MGR. JOURDAN DE LA PASSARDIÈRE, Évêque de Roséa.

N.B.—Memorials which adherents propose to present to the Congress should be addressed as early as possible before the 1st April, 1900, to M. LE SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL DE LA SOCIÉTÉ ANTI-ESCLAVAGISTE DE FRANCE, 11, Rue du Regard, à Paris, to whom all other communications about the Congress should be addressed.

The Coloured Race in America.

Mr. Booker T. Washington, the founder and principal of the Tuskegee Institute or Training College for coloured people in Alabama, U.S.A., who visited England last summer, and was good enough to call at the offices of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, has, since his return, sent us the monthly issue of the journal of the Institute, *The Southern Letter*. This little paper gives interesting details of the practical and useful work done by the Institution, which is situated in the "Black Belt" of Alabama, where the blacks are three times as numerous as the whites, and contains about 1,100 male and female students who are trained to various kinds of manual trades, as well as to teaching. Many applicants for admission as students have to be refused for lack of room and means, as also have many applications for the services of the pupils when their course is finished.

Mr. Washington founded the Institute in the little town of Tuskegee in 1881 with one teacher and thirty students, believing in the vital importance of industrial training for his countrymen and countrywomen. He maintains that if his people got no other good out of slavery, they got the habit of work; but they did not know how to utilize the results of their labour, for slavery had deprived them of the sense of independence. Twenty-six different industries are taught in the Institute, and every student has to learn a trade in addition to class studies.

At a meeting held in London in July last, to meet Mr. Washington, Mr.

Choate, the United States Ambassador, made the following interesting remarks on this important work for the coloured people of the Southern States :—

There were 10,000,000 coloured persons in the United States living side by side with some 10,000,000 of whites. . . . The black people had done much for themselves. About one-tenth of the men had acquired some portion of land, and they had made a certain advance. Mr. Washington was a pupil of the late General Armstrong, who devoted many years of his life to the establishment and maintenance of the leading school at Hampton, Virginia. Mr. Washington had qualified himself to follow in Armstrong's path. He also founded a school, or training college at Tuskegee, Alabama, where the pupils were not only given a primary education, but were afforded the means of earning a livelihood. . . . The Government of the United States thought well of the work. It gave the school a grant of 25,000 acres of land in Alabama only last year. The State of Alabama, in which it was placed, gave it an annual donation. In addition, it derived something from the funds left by the great philanthropist, George Peabody, and from another fund founded by an American philanthropist. The remainder of the sum needed for carrying on the work—some £15,000 a year—was derived from voluntary contributions, which were stimulated by the appeals made by Mr. Washington, whom he (Mr. Choate) regarded as the leader of his race in America.

In the November number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, the negro question is discussed by Mr. Washington in a thoughtful and suggestive article. The problem of the negro in the Southern States is, Mr. Washington admits, a large and serious one, but he by no means despairs of the solution. Of the ten millions of negroes in the United States, eight millions are in the South, and Mr. Washington is of opinion that they will do well to stay there, rather than migrate to the North, but a constitutional, just and manly basis of settlement must be found, which will be fair to both races in the South and throughout the country. He advises the negro to identify his interests with the South, and to make himself a part of the community, by being of indispensable service to it, and instances the case of the Jews in Europe.

Mr. Washington, who writes from the observation and experience gained in eighteen years' direct contact with leading whites as well as blacks, deprecates all exaggeration and heated feeling on either side in this question, and proposes certain definite lines of settlement. At present 80 per cent. of the negroes live by agriculture, and it is by applying himself primarily to agriculture, and in a somewhat less degree to mechanics, manufacturing, and all the domestic arts that Mr. Washington thinks the negro will best work out his own salvation.

School opportunities should be improved in the Southern country districts, though the various missionary societies from the North have done a work for the negro which cannot be estimated too highly. The Southern whites should take an active interest in the higher schools for the blacks, as they have already done

in some places, for they are really concerned in the progress of their coloured brethren. Unequal legislation should come to an end, and the standard of citizenship should be high for black and white alike.

Mr. Washington evidently thinks that the future of the negro lies to a large extent in his own hands, and that he will work out his own destiny if he is allowed to get education and some property, and to secure employment.

A less hopeful side of the question is treated in the *Nineteenth Century* for December, by Mr. D. E. Tobias, to whose pamphlet on the convict-leasing system we referred in our first issue of this year (p. 42). He maintains that the coloured people in America are emphatically not free in the sense that the whites are. Mr. Tobias denounces the Southern prison system as a new form of slavery designed to keep the blacks from annoying the whites, and also to weaken the voting power of the negroes, who, when once they have been in prison, are permanently disfranchised.

Mr. Tobias, like Mr. Booker Washington, lays great stress on the generosity of Northern Christians and philanthropists who have given millions of money to educate the Southern negroes, and have themselves in many cases lived amongst them as missionaries. But for this invaluable help, it would, he says, be difficult "even to imagine what would have become of the negroes who were turned loose at the close of the Civil War, without a single shilling in hand, or a foot of land with which to commence their new career."

The racial antagonism existing in all Southern institutions, and the disabilities and social ostracism which the coloured man has to suffer, in greater or less degree throughout the United States, constitute a formidable and most difficult problem, which is not likely to be fully solved for many a day. Mr. Tobias himself thinks that it is being simplified by the education of his race, and that the negro, who "is working hard for his place as a man in American life and institutions, is bound to win." Meanwhile, it is well that the facts and conditions should be brought into the light and clearly known, especially by those who oppose slavery and all the train of evils which accompany and result from it.

Royal Niger Company.

FINAL MEETING.

It is rather curious that at the General Meeting, on October 27th, none of the speakers appear to have referred to what all Africans must hold to be the two most striking features of the Company's rule.

One of these was the abolition of the legal status of slavery in all regions within which the Company had effective occupation. The other was the absolute prohibition of the importation of spirituous liquors into nine-tenths of the Company's territories. This policy resulted in saving the enormous and thickly-peopled regions of the Central Soudan from being invaded by the liquor traffic, which has obtained such a foothold on the maritime belt of West Africa.

* * * * *

No doubt all that has been said as to the debt due to the Company by the British Empire is true, and we have no desire to minimise the beneficial results of the Company's action from the Imperial point of view. We are also prepared to admit Sir George Goldie's contention that the Company has given and is giving peace and justice to the Natives in lieu of the intertribal wars and slave-raiding of the past. But, as regards the African races, the Company's slavery and liquor policies, to which Her Majesty's Government is committed on taking possession of Nigeria, will constitute the real claim of the Royal Niger Company to the gratitude of posterity.—*African Times*, November 4th, 1899.

MR. J. A. O. PAYNE, OF LAGOS.

A UNIQUE and pleasant function was that which took place at the opening of the Court at Tinubu on Monday morning, when in the presence of a large assembly, consisting of the Officers of the Court, the legal fraternity, representatives of the press and the general public, His Honor Sir Thomas Crossley Rayner, Knt., took farewell of the retiring Chief Registrar, Mr. J. A. OTONBA PAYNE, after a service extending over 36 years in the employment of this Government. His Honor the Chief Justice referred in happy terms to the length of service of Mr. PAYNE, to the assistance he had rendered different Judges, and himself personally, by his intimate acquaintance with native laws and customs and his long experience. He closed by wishing him a long life in which to enjoy his well-earned pension. Mr. F. O. Edlin, Queen's Advocate, followed in the same strain and also testified to the valuable and ready assistance Mr. PAYNE was always glad to give him in many important matters. Mr. C. A. Sapara Williams, as leader of the bar, referred to Mr. PAYNE's long connection with the Court, to the service he had rendered not only to the bar but to the community in general, by the compilation of the dates of important events in the history of Lagos in his useful almanacs, which alone, in a community that had no head for dates, was an invaluable service. . . .

Mr. PAYNE in modest terms thanked the speakers for the flattering opinion expressed of the services he had been able to render, and expressed himself as being ready at any time, if called upon in an emergency, to give whatever aid he could in the service of his Queen and his country. Prior to this, on Wednesday last, by the direction of His Excellency Governor MacGregor, a letter was addressed by the Colonial Secretary to Mr. PAYNE, informing him of the readiness of his successor to take up his duties, and thanking him for his "long, faithful and efficient service to the Government." Our esteemed townsman is much to be congratulated upon his honourable retirement after such a long service.—*Lagos Standard*, 6th September, 1899.

[Mr. PAYNE is a coloured gentleman, and was, until lately, a corresponding member of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.]

THE FRIENDS' ANTI-SLAVERY FUND.

WE have received from the Secretary of the Society of Friends a sum of £15 13s. 9d. as a contribution to the funds of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, this being half the balance of their last Anti-Slavery Fund (the other half being devoted to their own Mission in Pemba).

The Society has received valuable help from the same source in past years, and this donation is a gratifying reminder of the very close association and deep interest which the Friends have collectively and individually always maintained in Anti-slavery work.

Obituary.

MRS. W. E. FORSTER had been a friend and a subscriber to the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY ever since the death of her distinguished husband, the late Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster, in 1886. Mr. Forster's hereditary connection with the Society, through his father and two uncles who were all active members of it, is well known, and he himself took a deep interest in its work, and rendered it signal service. The Cairo Home for Freed Women Slaves, which has done such beneficent work in Egypt, and still flourishes (though the need for it is now, happily, less), may be said to owe its existence mainly to Mr. Forster's influence.

Mrs. Forster, who was a daughter of Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, and a sister of Matthew Arnold, died on the 21st of October last.

MISS ANNA SWANWICK, who died on November 2nd, at the age of 86 years, had for some years been a supporter of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Miss Swanwick was a well known woman of letters, and her translations from the Greek and German classics are famous. Deeply interested also in social questions, she did much to promote the higher education of women, with the deficiencies of which she had early been impressed. To the "woman question" in general, as a correspondent informs us, Miss Swanwick's attention was directed in the first instance by the incident which took place in the World's Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840, when Mrs. Lucretia Mott and other lady delegates from the United States were excluded from taking part in the Conference on account of their sex. As a protest against this decision, W. Lloyd Garrison, the well-known abolitionist, refused to take part in the Conference, and took his place beside his co-delegates in the gallery.

The same correspondent, who was a close personal friend of Miss Swanwick, adds that she entertained an intense hatred of slavery in every form—a hatred born with her and inherited from abolitionist parents, which only increased with increasing years.

"Without seeking publicity," says *The Times*, "Miss Swanwick by her example and influence greatly widened Englishwomen's sphere of usefulness.

Mr JOHN WHITING, of Leeds, who died on November 22nd, aged 81, was a well-known member of the Society of Friends in Yorkshire, and was a supporter of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Mr. Whiting had married a sister of Mr. Charles Gilpin, M.P., who advocated the Anti-Slavery cause in Parliament many years ago, and at the request of the Society, obtained a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1871 to investigate the slave-trade in East Africa.

Mr. FREDERICK D. BARNES, who died very suddenly at Chislehurst on the 30th November, at the age of 56, was for many years managing Director of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company. It deserves to be recorded in these columns that in his capacity of managing director of that powerful company, Mr. Barnes very generously rendered important service to the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY by granting free return tickets to the Mediterranean to members of a deputation sent out by the society, to report upon the state of slavery in Morocco and other parts of Northern Africa. As this hospitality was shewn on more than one occasion it represented a very considerable sum of money devoted to the Anti-Slavery cause, for which the Directors received the warm thanks of the Society, and Mr. Barnes a personal acknowledgment.

Review.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

EDITED BY ANNIE FIELDS.*

The authoress of this volume tells us in the preface that the moment has at last arrived when the story of Mrs. Stowe's life can be given in full. Miss Fields has told a deeply interesting story with simplicity and much sympathetic feeling.

It is little more than three years since Mrs. Stowe's death, but her great work and influence belong to a period from thirty to fifty years ago. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the book with which her name will always be associated, was completed in 1852, and four-fifths of the present volume relate to the most active years of Mrs. Stowe's life, before 1870.

Mrs. Stowe was an eminently "womanly" woman in the best sense, and, while her high literary gifts were given to the noble cause of freedom, her joys, her interests, and her sorrows were ever those, in the first instance, of a most devoted wife and mother. A humorous account is given of the difficulties under which Mrs. Stowe wrote one of her earliest stories, while "tending the baby and watching two others just able to walk," dictating her story in the intervals of superintending the cook, and directing household operations generally. Not long after this we find her husband writing to her with a singularly prophetic instinct.

"My dear, you must be a literary woman. It is so written in the book of fate. Make all your calculations accordingly. Get a good stock of health and brush up your mind. . . . Write yourself fully and always Harriet Beecher Stowe,

* Sampson Low and Co.

which is a name euphonious, flowing, and full of meaning. Then, my word for it, your husband will lift up his head in the gate, and your children will rise up and call you blessed."

The answer to this letter was in a doubtful tone, and in a later letter to her husband, written after absence from home, necessitated by ill-health, Mrs. Stowe wrote :

"It appears to me, that I am not probably destined for long life ; at all events, the feeling is strongly impressed upon my mind that a work is put into my hands which I must be earnest to finish shortly. It is nothing great, or brilliant in the world's eye ; it lies in one small family circle, of which I am called to be the central point."

The facts were to prove far otherwise.

Mrs. Stowe did not come into close contact with slavery or the Abolition movement until after she was grown up, but an early impression of childhood was that of her father, Dr. Lyman Beecher's earnest prayers in the family for "poor, oppressed bleeding Africa," which strongly affected the child and made her "from her very soul, the enemy of all slavery."

When Harriet Beecher was about twenty-one, her family went to live in Cincinnati, on the confines of a slave state, and she thus became familiar with the incidents of slavery. An anti-slavery newspaper was started in the town in 1838, and the Kentucky slave-owners, resenting this, destroyed the printing press and some rioting took place in consequence.

"No one can have the system of slavery brought before him," wrote Mrs. Stowe at this time "without an irrepressible desire to *do* something ; and what is there to be done ?"

Several years later, after much private anxiety and sorrow, caused by the weak health both of Mrs. Stowe and her husband, narrow means, family cares, and an epidemic of cholera, in which they lost a young son, the Abolitionist feeling of the country was deeply stirred by the passing of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. This led a sister-in-law of Mrs. Stowe to write to her in these words, "Hattie, if I could use a pen as you can, I would write something to make this whole nation feel what an accursed thing slavery is."

Mrs. Stowe read this letter aloud to her family, and when she came to this passage, she exclaimed "I will write something. I will if I live."

In April 1851, the world-famed story of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* began to appear in a paper called the *National Era*, published in Washington, and a year later it was finished. Mrs. Stowe herself described the genesis of the book, and the circumstances under which it came to be written, in an introduction which was prefixed to a much later edition. For many years the subject had been germinating in her mind, but it appeared too dark and difficult to take up ; professed Abolitionists were a small class, regarded as fanatics and monomaniacs. At length, after the Fugitive Slave Act was passed, it seemed to her that the slavery system was likely to extend to the Northern States, and was being extenuated by Christian people. Mrs. Stowe then resolved to let people know what slavery, as she had seen it, was.

She first wrote the account of the death of the old slave, and then the story seemed to rush upon her. "I did not write it," Mrs. Stowe said more than once; "God wrote it; I merely did His dictation." The story was intensely real to her, and her health nearly broke down under the strain of writing it.

The book was an immense and unexpected success, and not long after its publication, Mrs. Stowe paid her first visit to England, where she was welcomed, both in England and Scotland, with great enthusiasm, and made the acquaintance of many distinguished people. In Glasgow she was presented with a thousand sovereigns on a silver salver, being the result of a national penny offering collected from willing givers, both rich and poor, to help the slaves. On her way to London she visited Joseph Sturge at Birmingham, where she was welcomed by the local Abolition Society. In London a great gathering of notabilities took place at Stafford House, when a presentation was made to Mrs. Stowe by the Duchess of Sutherland, the company including Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Lord Shaftesbury, the Duke and Duchess of Argyll, Lord Macaulay, and other prominent people. She was also greeted with intense enthusiasm at a meeting of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in Exeter Hall, and at a special soirée of the same Society, when the Committee addressed to her a letter of welcome.

The high honour paid to Mrs. Stowe in this country and through her to the anti-slavery cause, was not without its effect in America. At first it produced a strong reaction, but the attitude of leaders of English society helped the cause by making it fashionable in a country where Abolitionists had always been socially despised.

On her return home, Mrs. Stowe threw herself into work for the slaves with renewed energy. She addressed a powerful appeal to the women of America, and in 1855 she was absorbed in writing a second anti-slavery story called *Dred*, which was favourably received and was considered by many capable critics to be distinctly superior to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

In the following year she again visited Europe, and met many interesting people in London, Paris and Rome. Her last visit to Europe took place in 1859.

On the outbreak of the American war in 1861, Mrs. Stowe saw her own son go out as one of the first to respond to the President's call for volunteers.

She was full of expectancy that good would come out of her country's terrible struggle, but the attitude of England troubled her. Accordingly in 1862 she wrote a stirring appeal to those "Women of England" who, a few years earlier, had sent her an address signed by more than half a million of women of all ranks, to support her in her action against slavery. She referred with pain to the "unaccountable fact" that the party of freedom now obtained so little sympathy from England, and she strongly combated the counsel that the North should "let the South go," and leave the slaves to their fate. Her appeal ended as follows:

"And now, sisters of England, think it not strange if we bring back the words of your letter, not in bitterness, but in deepest sadness, and lay them down at your door. We say to you, sisters, you have spoken well; we have

heard you ; we have heeded ; we have striven in the cause, even unto death. We have sealed our devotion by desolate hearth and darkened homestead, by blood of sons, husbands and brothers . . . Sisters, what have *you* done, and what do you mean to do?"

On the same subject, she wrote to the Duchess of Argyll in 1863, in a crisis of the war, that the year had been to her "one long sigh, one smothering sob." She was deeply indignant at what she considered to be the desertion of the cause by England, but she still wrote without doubt of the ultimate result.

"Slavery will be sent out by this agony. We are only in the throes and ravings of the exorcism. The roots of the cancer have gone everywhere, but they must die—will . . . Just now we are in a dark hour ; but whether God be with us or not, I know He is with the slave, and with his redemption will come the solution of our question."

After the war was over, Mrs. Stowe's life was no longer so full of public labours, but it was not less occupied by her writings, her heavy private sorrows, and events of family and other interest. Her devotion to her husband and children was intense. She was wont to say that she could never have done anything without Professor Stowe, but her letters to him show that (owing to his nervous and highly strung temperament) the burdens and cares of the family fell most heavily upon her.

Much of her time also was given to private philanthropies, as to which Miss Fields says :

"With her heroic nature she was always ready to lead the forlorn hope. The child no one else was willing to provide for, the woman the world despised, were brought into her home and cared for as her own.

Mrs. Stowe's last public appearance was in June, 1882, when she expressed her confidence in the future of the emancipated slaves of whom she had seen much during her residence in Florida, where she had a winter home for many years.

"If any of you have doubt or sorrow, or pain, if you doubt about this world, just remember what God has done ; just remember that this great sorrow of slavery has gone, gone by for ever. I see it every day at the South. I see these people growing richer and richer. I see men very happy in their lowly lot ; but, to be sure, you must have patience with them. They are not perfect, but have their faults, and they are serious faults in the view of white people. But they are very happy, that is evident, and they do know how to enjoy themselves—a great deal more than you do With all the faults of the coloured people . . . I think they have done well."

The latter years of Mrs. Stowe's busy life were calm and peaceful, and she died in July, 1896, at the ripe age of 85 years.

The name of Harriet Beecher Stowe will ever be associated with the emancipation of the slaves in the United States, and with the cause of the liberty of the black race generally. She nobly fulfilled a work which it is given to few women to accomplish, and her active, many-sided life is felicitously portrayed in Miss Fields' pages.















